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AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Proceedings of the
PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING

OF THE

Friends of African Colonization,

HELD IN THE

CITY OF BALTIMORE,

ON THE *17* OCTOBER, 1827.



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CIRCULAR

TO THE

FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

SIR,

At a meeting of the friends of African Colonization, the following Resolutions, Address and Constitution were unanimously adopted, and you were elected a member of the Board of Managers of the State Society of Maryland.

The duties of managers you will learn from the Constitution. Their number has been increased to *forty*, that it may embrace a greater quantity of talents, zeal and influence; and *six* have been authorized to transact business, that no gentleman may ever have his other engagements interfered with, by the necessity of attending to this.

With the highest respect,

Your humble servants.

Price

Chairman.

C. C. Harper

Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That it is expedient to revive the Maryland Colonization Society, Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That there be published an Address to the friends of African Colonization, setting forth the history, prospects and advantages of the scheme.

Resolved, That the following Constitution be adopted.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be officers of the Maryland Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary; and that a copy of them be sent to each of the officers, and such other persons as the Chairman may think proper.

ADDRESS

TO THE

FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION

THE idea of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color, in some place remote from this country, originated in the Virginia legislature, twenty-five or thirty years ago; and was strongly advocated by Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, and Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States. In 1816, that legislature passed a formal resolution, soliciting the aid of the general government, in procuring a proper site for a colony of free blacks, and such as might, in the course of time, be emancipated by their masters. The example was quickly followed by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia. Several other states have recently done the same. Virginia has since contributed liberally from her public treasury; and Maryland, at the last session of the Assembly, appropriated \$1000 annually, for removing to the colony such free blacks as might be willing to go.

Towards the close of 1816, there was formed at Washington, a society which was called the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY; of which Judge Washington of the Supreme Court was chosen President. From the first suggestion of the plan, there had been a diversity of opinion among its friends, as to what part of the world would be the most eligible situation. Mr. Jefferson proposed to send them to Sierra Leone, an English colony on the African coast, with the consent of the company to which it belonged; or, if that should not be practicable, to procure them homes in some of the Portuguese settlements in South America. Both attempts having proved unsuccessful, attention was turned to another quarter; and the Society, immediately after its organization, determined to send agents to explore the western coast of Africa and select the most suitable position.

In December, 1821, after various unsuccessful efforts in the preceding years at other points, a territory was purchased

from the natives of Cape Mesurado, on the western coast, by Dr. Ayres, the Society's Agent; and on the 28th of April, 1822, the American flag first waved, with innocent designs, on the shores of injured Africa.

The colony, thus founded, received the name of **LIBERIA**; and its principal town, which has already become a large village, that of **MONROVIA**, in honor of one of the most powerful promoters of the scheme, during whose administration it was established.

The object of the Society, to establish there a colony of free blacks from the United States, and to provide all such as might wish to emigrate, with an asylum whither they and their children might go and enjoy real liberty, and all the immunities, privileges and attributes of freemen, was immediately approved and embraced by a great number of our most distinguished citizens; and more emigrants were found than could be sent.

At first, a doubt was suggested of the practicability of such a settlement: but the experiment has been successful. In every respect, that part of Africa which has been selected, is as capable of being covered with great nations, as were the western and south-western members of this confederacy. It enjoys a fertility not inferior to theirs, and affords a greater variety of valuable products. The climate too, though essentially different, is at least as salubrious. The mortality that prevailed among the first emigrants to Liberia, was owing altogether to other causes. They arrived during the worst season of the year, and remained exposed to all its inclemencies, without shelter; and the matter of surprise should be, that any one of them escaped destruction. A much worse result attended the early attempts to settle America. Upon our forefathers greater disasters were inflicted, for its own inscrutable purposes, by the hand of Providence. In Virginia, and even as far north as Plymouth in New England, the settlers were repeatedly swept away by hostility and malignant diseases; and the idea of colonizing America, pronounced at once visionary and impracticable, was for a considerable time abandoned, and apparently forgotten. It is therefore neither surprising nor discouraging, that similar misfortunes should have followed the first attempts to settle Africa. They are incident to all such undertakings, in every quarter of the globe; and were to be expected particularly in a colony, founded by private contributions, left on a distant shore in an unprotected state, and conspired against by unusual occurrences. In the moment of her greatest exhaustion, the natives, jealous of her

presence and stimulated by atrocious slavers, fell upon Liberia in numbers vastly superior to her own. But the multitude of the deluded savages served only to increase their slaughter. They could not stand before the single howitzer and thirty muskets of the colonists; but fled in every direction to the woods, abandoned their assaults, and resumed their desultory and harmless warfare, which they were soon glad to exchange for peace. Since that lesson, they have attempted and displayed no more hostility; and their unaccustomed league has dissolved again into numerous and conflicting tribes.

The colony now contains, in the sixth year of its existence, upwards of six hundred inhabitants, who live in comfortable houses, and cultivate with profit the pursuits of commerce, and the rich fields that the society bestow gratuitously on all who emigrate. They are self-governed; they elect their own officers of justice, of the militia, and of civil duties; and their institutions are, in fine, a miniature of those of this republic. The territory has been much increased both in size and value; not by conquest, but the peaceful means of purchase. It now extends two hundred miles along the coast, and indefinitely into the interior, embracing within its limits several small settlements, which have sprung like sub-colonies from the principal one. Monrovia, the capital, built on the high and salubrious promontory of Mesurado, is defended by a militia of more than ninety men, well armed, and a strong fort of masonry, amply provided with cannon and ammunition. All the children, of whom there are two hundred and twenty-seven, attend school. The schools are on the Lancastrian system. There are several places of public worship. A reading-room and library of twelve hundred volumes diffuse instruction throughout the little community. The morals of the place are admirable; and the industry of the people is displayed in the thriving aspect of every thing around them, and in their rapidly accumulating wealth.

The prosperous condition of the colony is exemplified by the fact, that when the brig John, Capt. Clough, of Portland, Maine, arrived there in June or July, 1826, her whole cargo, worth \$11,000, was disposed of in ten days, and every cent paid. The laws have wisely provided, that no one shall buy on credit. From the 1st of January to the 1st of June, of the same year, there were exported to New England, Great Britain, Sierra Leone, France, the West Indies, Norfolk and Baltimore, dye goods and ivory to the amount of \$43,980. The profit on this to the exporters will appear, in

calculating the difference between the African market and those of Europe and America, to have been about \$30,786. Such a trade must soon enrich those engaged in it.

Thus has the practicability of erecting a flourishing colony of free blacks on the coast of Africa, been amply demonstrated.*

The great objects of the Society in founding it, are effected daily. Already Liberia has begun to convert and enlighten Africa, and compensate her for the torments we have inflicted. The natives have learned to admire what at first they only suspected and feared. In its institutions they see the pillar of its strength and prosperity, and would imitate the christian charity and justice, which its inhabitants exercise towards them in all their dealings. Docile and tractable in their nature, rather uncivilized than savages, and having none of the ferocity and stubbornness of the North American Indian, they are anxious their posterity should partake in the blessings which they behold; and seventy children, sent by their parents for that purpose, are now distributed among the families in the colony, to be brought up, as their own offspring, in the language and arts of civilized life, and the christian religion. The greatest favour, in his own estimation, that a native can receive, is to obtain his child a situation, on those terms, in the colony; and there are many more applications than can, for want of room, be gratified. A great deal of the labour on the fields and houses, and in lading and unlading vessels, is performed of their own accord, at stipulated prices, by natives; who being always in the presence of cultivated man, will sooner or later copy his habits and manners. Thus has Liberia begun to realize the anticipated effect of shedding the light of civilization and the gospel on benighted Africa.

We shall not here detail, what have so often been repeated, the horrors of the slave trade; for there is no human being, in this country, that has not heard them. In the earliest dawn of our national history, they were the subject of debate and universal indignation; and, as soon as practicable, the market of this country was closed against them; the strictest laws were passed, for the punishment of our citi-

* This sketch of the history of the colony we have drawn, for the benefit of those whose attention has not hitherto been called to it, from the Annual Reports of the Society; from the African Repository, a monthly periodical of thirty pages, published at Washington under the direction of the managers; from various pamphlets and papers on the subject; and from an able article on African Colonization, in the 17th number of the North American Review.

To reason with them, as yet, on the injustice and horrid features of the custom, would be useless, for "they know not what they do:" to compel them to desist, would be impossible, as long as there were any purchasers: to destroy the demand from the Atlantic sea board and its islands, the attempt has proved abortive hitherto, and must always be extremely difficult and expensive: and even to crush it, in that direction, were almost fruitless, for it would still exist in the interior, with aggravated misery, and on the Eastern and Mediterranean coasts. The only effectual remedy then for the slave trade, is to establish civilized and powerful colonies on the western and south-west coasts, to serve as markets, where the natives may sell every thing but slaves, and procure in exchange every article they desire. Not until then will they quit their present for more humane and industrious pursuits. Our cruizers off the coast can then co-operate most usefully in the work, by obstructing the trade, and making it so dangerous, uncertain and expensive, as to banish slavers, and drive the natives into the more lawful and lucrative commerce offered them.

The many other advantages of colonization in Africa, have also been realized, in a greater degree than the most sanguine ever expected in so short a time. The condition of the free blacks, who have emigrated, has been improved essentially by transferring them, with their own consent, from this country, where they can never be but nominally free, to another where they are really so. Their encouraging letters have produced a salutary excitement among the free blacks that remain; and there are daily more applicants for a passage, than can be accommodated. Most of them seem to look to the shores of Africa, as the destined home of themselves or their children, the promised land of the coloured race.

The rigours of slavery too have been abated, by withdrawing every pretext, derived from discontent, for harsh treatment, and by opening a door to manumission, through which numbers begin to pour already. There can be no manumission, without removal, that can benefit the slave or master. Here are the means of removal offered. Many owners have taken advantage of them. In the natural course of things, others, as yet deterred by the present inevitable evils of emancipation, will follow their example. It is by this means that the American Colonization Society hope to relieve their country from the baneful institution of slavery, our burthen and dishonour. Themselves, for the most part, slave-holders, those, they think, are the only means that can be employed, consistently with their own security, the rights of

zens engaged in them; and we took the lead in effectual measures for their total abolition. But our measures have been more energetic on paper than in reality. It is only by settlements along the coast, at the most important points, that the nefarious commerce can be arrested; and without their assistance, no squadron, however powerful, will be competent to its suppression. The thousand little rivers, creeks and bays, that indent the shores of Africa, elude the search of the lawful mariner or refuse him admission in their shallow waters, while they afford lurking places for those concerned in the traffic, and well acquainted, from their habits, with the geography of the country. If any particular haunt, mart or factory be discovered and broken up, they send word into the interior, that slaves must be brought to some less frequented and unsuspected part of the coast. Thither they steal to receive them; and, while taking in their living cargo of human merchandize, lie effectually concealed under the woody and winding banks of unknown streams. The only way to obviate this evasion, is to found colonies and establishments along the coast, in such situations as to command the accessible markets, and sustain each other in attacks and defence. They would sometimes be compelled to resort to force; as was recently the case with Liberia, when she destroyed a slave factory that had been opened within her boundaries, and set the wretched captives free. But their most powerful effects would be produced by gentle means; by teaching the natives milder and more christian modes of commerce; by recalling them to a sense of the criminal nature of the one they practice; by forming alliances of trade and friendship with the nations of the interior; and by making the slave trade unprofitable from a refusal to engage in it, and alluring the people to other commerce with the products of European skill and science. There are empires in the interior, that have attained a high degree of comparative civilization. One of them is within two hundred miles of Liberia. Of the willingness of the native sovereigns to establish such an intercourse, we have abundant evidence in the journal of Denham and Clapperton's expedition, and from many other sources. It is a fortunate circumstance, that in the vicinity of Liberia the native tribes are feeble, and unable to offer effectual resistance. Every where they are naturally mild and hospitable, cheerful, peaceable and timid, docile and anxious to be instructed; and although altered by the wars and predatory inroads and private feuds and ruthless violence, which the slave trade occasions to obtain its victims, they are far from irreclaimable.

their fellow-citizens, the permanent happiness of the blacks, and the tranquility of the state. By voluntary emancipation, voluntary emigration, voluntary removal, which must, in their nature, be gradual, they believe all their objects can be effected. The experiment has more than authorized their confidence.

In fine, the advantage to ourselves will be immense. As this mass of men, foreign to us though among us, shall yield to the elastic pressure of a wholesome population, of our own colour, the value of compulsory labour will gradually decline, and a better be substituted; property will be enhanced; and the number of slaves diminished; until the last fibre of that institution, entailed upon us without our fault, but removed by our efforts, can be eradicated by purchase, and public opinion forever prevail against the crying evil. If slavery be indeed an evil, as no one will deny, such a consummation is to be desired.

From a colony so situated and so connected with us, we may reasonably expect a great accession to our commerce and a boundless market for our products. The blessings of free institutions, like our own, will be indefinitely extended; a coloured America will rise on the shores of Africa; and this will be the sole instance of a colony, founded to be independent when of age, and not for the benefit of the mother country alone, but for that of the human race.

Such is the scheme of African colonization. To the statesman it offers the only reasonable hope of removing from our country the deadliest of her ills; to the christian and philosopher, the establishment of civilization and true religion, in a land hitherto a prey to ignorance and crime; to the philanthropist and all, the destruction of the most atrocious and abominable traffic, that ever disgraced human nature or desolated the world.

Since the recent advices from Liberia, confirming our brightest hopes, nothing further remains for the advocates of the scheme, but to renew and combine their efforts, to give it full developement, and that extension without which it were only a curious but useless experiment. What is, therefore, most to be desired and sought at present, is to obtain the assistance of the numerous friends of the scheme, in every part of the union, in so concentrated and regular a form, as to afford, without taxing too far the charity of individuals, a constant and ample fund for the accomplishment of our purposes.

The measures hitherto adopted with that view, have failed of an adequate effect; and although there has been undoubt-

edly a vast increase in the number of our friends, the resources of the society, if they have not actually diminished, are by no means commensurate with its objects, and always so uncertain as to avail but little. They amount to about 11,000 or \$12,000 a year; derived from the voluntary contributions of the charitable, and from small appropriations by legislative bodies. In the first gush of approbation, state colonization societies, with numerous branches, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington, were very generally formed, and contributed powerfully, by the reputation and liberality of their members, to sustain the expenses of the undertaking. But they have since been suffered to go gradually to ruins, notwithstanding the continually augmenting number of persons favourable to the design. The reasons of this decay are found in their defective conformation. Laborious or troublesome duties were imposed upon gentlemen, whose names alone ought to have been sufficient, and whose age or occupations prevented them from taking an active part. The rate of contributions, too, was such as the enthusiasm of the moment suggested, and not such as prudence would have recommended.

These defects we have endeavoured to remedy, by selecting the higher officers, as heretofore, from among gentlemen of advanced age, or distinguished abilities, or conspicuous for past or present services to our country or the cause; and entrusting to younger men, all offices to which active duties are attached. The rate of subscription also has been reduced to *one dollar annually*, never to be paid in advance, nor ever to be increased.

The expediency of this plan of revenue is deduced from the reflection, that there are thousands who will cheerfully give *one dollar* every year, who would not, on any account or by any persuasion, give *twenty-five dollars* to be members for life, or even *five* to be so for ten years, as was originally provided. Those few who can afford, in the various and incessant calls on their charity, to give such sums, would probably persuade themselves, (as we have seen in too many instances,) and not without some reason, that they had now done their proportion of the work, dismiss the subject from their thoughts, and with it, perhaps, all the zeal they might have felt in its behalf. But no man will refuse to give *one dollar*, even though he may not have reflected on the scheme for which it is solicited, or, having reflected, remain indifferent to its success: and certainly no member of the society, with a proper sense of the goodness and usefulness of the design, would hesitate to ask each of his friends, or

acquaintance, for one dollar for its support; although he might be deterred by delicacy from imposing on them a heavier burthen. It would also be thus brought within the power of every friend of the scheme, to contribute to it; and no unequal weight will bear upon any.

We hope that as many auxiliaries to this society as possible will be established in every town, village and district in the state, and adopt a similar organization.

A very large sum, it is believed, might be raised each year in every state, by these subscriptions alone; without taking into consideration what we should still continue to receive, in increasing abundance, from private contributions, the charity of religious societies and masonic orders, and legislative appropriations: and the peculiar advantage of this new source of supply will be, that it will not be fluctuating and occasional, soon exhausted, and betraying us into expenses beyond our means; but copious and steady, ever augmenting with population and benevolence, and with the gradual and certain progress of opinion in our favour.

In proportion as the state societies shall be revived or established on this footing, and their numerous little auxiliaries brought into existence and due subordination and dependence, the parent society itself, hitherto feeble and irregular, may receive a more effectual structure. There may be held, each year, in Washington, at some period during the session of the national Congress, a congress or convention of representatives from the state societies and their various branches; each sending such number as the parent society, or the convention itself, at its first meeting, might determine. Their compensation would be the highest of rewards;—the pleasure and merit of a good act. As the matters to be submitted to their deliberation and decision, would not be of a nature to be easily or wilfully abused, nor of such vital importance to them or their employers, that they might (like political affairs) be liable to be dishonestly conducted, for dangerous or improper purposes, many of the auxiliary societies would, perhaps, often not care to be represented: and as this meeting would be during the session of Congress and the Supreme Court, and at a season when multitudes from every part of the United States have occasion to visit the seat of government, there would be no difficulty, to those who might desire it, in procuring zealous and able representatives, who could serve them without expense or trouble.

This convention would have the power of appropriating all funds collected for the colonization cause. To it would be remitted, or to such persons as it should appoint, all

monies obtained in every part of the union, by the state and auxiliary branches of the general society. It would have the power of electing its own officers, and those of the parent society; that is, its president, vice-presidents, treasurer, secretaries, managers, and agents; who would be elected for such terms as might be, from time to time, determined, and be responsible to it for their conduct in office. In fine, it would take special and peculiar charge of LIBERIA, and provide for the general welfare of the cause of African colonization.

When each contributor, being represented and having himself a share in the government of the society and distributions of its funds, would feel, of course, more confidence in their being properly managed, there would be created a greater readiness to give. The annual assembly of representatives from every section, state and district, would win to our endeavours the attention and interest of the whole American people. Its public debates, the information it would elicit and extend, the strict accountability it would establish, and the harmonious voice, which it would be, of millions of freemen, would lend a national dignity to our national cause, and insure the faithful application of all the means intended for its promotion.

But the first step to these results, must be the revival and re-organization of the state and auxiliary societies.

The example has been set in Maryland. We earnestly recommend its imitation to our friends throughout this state and the union, and respectfully solicit an interchange of opinions with them on the subject. The names of the officers of such societies as they may form, may be communicated to the secretary of the state society.

CONSTITUTION.

OF MEMBERS.

THE condition of membership shall be the payment of *one dollar* annually, to be made at such time as the board of managers shall appoint.

On the 1st of November each year, or such other day as the managers may prefer, there shall be a general meeting of the members, to be called through the public prints, by the secretary or assistant secretary.

At this meeting shall be elected, by a majority of the members present, a board of forty managers.

At the same time, and in the same manner, there shall be appointed delegates to the next ensuing meeting of the parent society at Washington; of such number as the parent society may determine, or, in case of their not fixing any, as the general meeting of members may think fit.

The general meeting may also alter this Constitution, provided there be present one-third of the members of the society, and a majority of them concur in its alteration.

OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

There shall be forty managers, of whom six shall constitute a quorum.

They may fill up such vacancies as shall occur in their body, in the interval of the annual elections.

As soon as convenient after the general meeting of members, they shall assemble for the choice of the following officers:

1. A President.
2. An indefinite number of Vice-presidents.
3. A Treasurer.
4. A Secretary.
5. An Assistant Secretary.

They may adopt such by-laws as they shall think proper.

It shall be their duty, whenever they deem it expedient, to employ, at such rates as may appear reasonable, a collector or collectors, for obtaining members and collecting the annual contributions or other donations.

They may also appoint committees of suitable persons, from their own body or out of it, permanent or temporary, for such purposes as may seem to demand them.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall always be selected from among the Vice-presidents.

OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Presidents of the auxiliary state societies shall be ex-officio Vice-presidents of the state society.

OF THE SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall correspond with such persons as the board of managers may wish to communicate officially with; and be the organ of communication from others to them.

He shall keep a register of the names of all the officers of the society, of all members, of their annual subscriptions and donations; and of such other circumstances as the managers may direct.

The same duties shall be performed, under his direction, by the Assistant Secretary.

They shall be ex-officio managers; in addition to the forty.

OF THE TREASURER.

All monies or other articles, collected for the society, shall be paid into the hands of the Treasurer.

He shall receive and keep an account of them, as also of all expenditures; and shall hold them subject, after deducting for necessary expenses, to the order of the board of managers, or, through them, of the parent society at Washington.

He shall be ex-officio a manager; in addition to the forty.

OF THE AGENCY.

Whenever the parent society may think fit, they may appoint a committee, to consist of any number, who shall be called their agency, and be under their control and immediate and sole direction.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT.

Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemp,	William Barroll,
Gen. Samuel Smith,	Joseph Kent,
Roger B. Taney,	Joseph E. Muse,
Luke Tiernan,	Thomas James Bullitt,
Dr. James Steuart,	Daniel Martin,
Robert Oliver,	Anthony Banning,
Isaac McKim,	Wm. H. Tilghman,
Col. Maynadier,	J. T. Chase,
Robert H. Goldsborough,	A. C. Magruder,
Charles Goldsborough,	John Brewer,
James H. McCulloh,	James Murray,
Philip E. Thomas,	John Leeds Kerr,
Robert Gilmor,	Daniel Murray,
Hezekiah Niles,	J. J. Speed,
John Grahame,	Samuel Sterett.
Richard T. Earle,	

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Rev. Dr. Henshaw,	Thomas Armstrong,
Rev. Mr. Nevins,	Wm. Wilkins,
Rev. Mr. Waugh,	Hugh McElderry,
Rev. Mr. Breckenridge,	Wm. Gwynn,
Rev. Dr. Wyatt,	Richard H. Douglas,
Rev. Dr. Kurtz,	Thomas Ellicott,
Rev. Mr. Hanson,	Dr. Richard Steuart,
Rev. Mr. Finlay,	Nathaniel Williams,
Peter Hoffman,	Richard Gill,
Col. Benjamin C. Howard,	Edward Kemp,
Gen. Geo. H. Steuart,	Richard B. Magruder,
Col. William Steuart,	Upton S. Heath,
Robert Armstrong,	Charles S. Walsh,
Col. John Berry,	Francis H. Davidge,
Thos. Kelso,	Joseph Cushing,

The object of the agency is to lend more despatch and efficiency to the operations of the parent society; and their duty shall be, to procure members, to promote and superintend emigration, to inform the public mind rightly on matters relating to African colonization, and to correspond on those subjects with similar committees, individuals, corporate and public bodies, elsewhere.

But they shall not collect or hold any monies, or other donations, in their official capacity; except by express permission of the parent society, or by its order on the treasurer of the state society.

They shall appoint their own chairman and secretary; and make their own by-laws.

Jacob I. Cohen,
 Dr. P. Macaulay,
 Solomon Etting,
 Dr E. G. Edrington,
 Wm. Bose,

Fielder Israel,
 Tilghman Brice,
 Edmund Didier,
 Dr. Eli Ayres,
 Wm. R. Adair.

John Hoffman, *Treasurer*.
 Edward J. Coale, *Secretary*.
 James Bryan, *Asst. Sec'ry*.

AGENCY.

Hon. Judge Brice, *Chairman*.
 John H. B. Latrobe,
 John I. Lloyd,
 Charles Howard,
 Charles C. Harper, *Secretary*.

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